614 /1 cont./
554 for delaying menstruation during the seclusion following the
[849] appearance of puberty, so that the organism may become weakened and the menstrual cycle no longer appears, with which their matrimonial life does not bear fruit. They know beforehand /2/ the destiny of their children. When they become
[567] of useful age a stronger group will fall upon them to enslave them under any pretext -- such as the loss of an animal whose disappearance will be attributed to them without any outcry or civil authority aroused to impede this, and, the injustice inflicted being proved, without any punishment being applied to the aggressor group. Their daughters will be taken as wives
614 without the necessary Guajiro payment, or, simply, they will
554 abuse them, there being no family backing to oppose the de-
593 mands of the men belonging to the stronger groups. If a daughter should be bought, only a nominal payment will be made to silence the protests of her family, but later a very heavy matrimonial retribution will be demanded. Generally, the husband will brag about the way in which he ill-treats the girl, knowing that she is unprotected and that her relatives have insufficient power to demand justice. Thus it is not rare that poor wives are killed by their husbands after a life in which the unfortunate women have been subjected to cruel beatings and even mutilation. And if the family has no alliance with any powerful groups, the death is not indemnified. The mothers also know that should
614 one of their sons, accidentally or in self-defense, wound or kill
554 a member of a stronger family group, the repirsal taken will
628 not be preceded by a demand for compensation payment or any of the legal requirements usually stipulated, but that his whole group will be destroyed or enslaved and deprived of its clan lands, fields, sources of water supply, and personal effects. For such reasons these weak groups are allowing themselves to die out by reducing their birth rate to a minimum.

80 Regarding the special wishes of each group as to the sex of its future descendants, we feel the need of making an analysis of the valuation which each has in the society.

/73/
548 maternal relatives; when married, of her husband; and if he dies, of his heirs. In case of adultery it is her lover who must pay to have legal right to her.

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Prostitution, which is continually growing in La Guajira, has many causes, which have developed rapidly in recent times, endangering all the social organization. The principal ones are:

548 Slavery. The /social/ organization in La Guajira has
● 567 created for itself this class of social elements placed at the
627 very margin of life. Its origin is in the clan groups which, when weakened by economic failure and the scarcity of male elements to strengthen them, have been slowly pushed to the margin /of society/. The murder, for example, of a member of a powerful group caused by a member of one of these groups spells its ruin. The law establishes in such cases a considerable payment to the maternal relatives of the murdered man by the clan group that is responsible for his death, a payment which has to be transacted in accordance with special forms which facilitate peaceful settlement between both parties and a reasonable time limit, at the termination of which both groups renew their peaceful relations and give proofs of new friendship, although in practice these appearances show themselves to be quite false. However, when the aggressor belongs to an inferior group, these negotiations are not followed out, as it would appear that added to the sorrow over the death is the offense of the crime having been perpetrated by a group without social standing, without prestige, and without sufficient means to pay the indemnity. "These people," say the offended ones, "who have no money to pay us for the grief they have caused us have no right either to a legal negotiation." They fall on the small group in overwhelming numbers like an avalanche, on their lands and their houses, leveling them to the ground without

/73 cont./

548 mercy, burning their homes with the occupants in them, destroy-
567 ing the crops, filling up and poisoning the springs, carrying off
627 the few livestock and personal effects there may be about. The worst fate is suffered by the children and especially the women, old women, young women, and girls, who are carried off as trophies of war to pay with their service as slaves for the crime committed by their relative.

548 Although these women are not to be considered as true
567 prostitutes, their daughters are forced to suffer this illegal condition because, although they belong to their mother's master, they are strongly besieged by all the men, especially by those who have not yet been able to buy a wife and who will find /74/ satisfaction in them without economic or social responsibilities. The girls submit little by little to this situation, giving themselves to whoever gives them presents, and eventually become harlots. (Cf. Slavery and Bond Service.)

Furthermore, many of these girls are sold by their masters to be sent out of the peninsula (to Aruba, Maracaibo, Curaçao, Riohacha, etc.), but when they grow up they escape and, when it is possible for them, they return again to La Guajira, where the fate that awaits them is no better, for they have been placed, so to speak, outside the law, as they lack the two strong social bonds: land and blood. Hence, not possessing these, they are free, which is equivalent to being without protection. No one will take notice of what they do, but neither will anyone speak up for them to prevent their being the victims of force. They have no economic backing nor private means. Moreover, many of them have been started off in prostitution during their servitude. In the circumstances described, it is rare that they can raise themselves and manage to find a place again in a society that turned them out, so that they find themselves obliged to live on the margin of society, as also their offspring. In this way slavery creates the prostitute, a public property, something that does not fit within the legal norms, as we have seen throughout this chapter.

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583 They also send a part to the most friendly neighbors who have marriageable daughters, because they hope that when one of these marries the present will be amply repaid. It is customary when they are distributing the marriage payment, if they have friends who have no daughters, for them to send them nothing, because they say: "Those people have no daughters and so they will never be able to return our gift."

The goods obtained from the sale of the other daughters who marry go to the maternal patrimony, although, as we have seen, the bridegroom's relatives participate because a goat or a sheep is presented to each of the women who intervene in the handing over of the animals. The necklaces which are given on betrothal are for the girl's mother, who in /90/ turn must supply one to each of her sons when they become engaged to be married.

Moreover, there is a special payment which is always made to the mother of the bride, and this is for the matrimonial hammock made by her. Generally, the price is ten cows in rich families, and when this payment is made, which is done personally by the bridegroom to his mother-in-law, it signifies that he is going to take possession of the woman he has bought; and she is then indirectly handed over to him, since the place (a neighboring room) is pointed out where he will find the hammock and the woman who will be his wife. This payment gives him the right to the conjugal bed and to cohabit with the woman whom he has bought and must be paid to the mother, partly because she made the hammock and partly because she brought up her daughter, bearing all the costs of rearing her and educating her. No one else shares in this amount.

When a female bond servant or slave is getting married, the product of the sale goes to her master exclusively, without having to be shared with anyone, first because the price is low, and [567 422] second because the ownership of a slave or a bond servant is individual.

When the marriage payment has been arranged to be paid in installments and the second of these is not forthcoming in the

/101 cont./

839 583 In the cases that we have described, as in that of abduction, the relatives of the girl oblige the seducor to marry by paying the stipulated price, or to pay an amount they arrive at for the abuse committed. If neither of these alternatives is complied with, the enmity of the two groups involved becomes so bitter that war ensues. /102/

837 583 Marriage by adultery. When a woman commits adultery and the case is known, attempts are made to settle the matter legally; the lover is obliged by the maternal relatives to pay what is claimed by the legitimate husband, or to pay to them the value of a usual marriage, in which case the woman involved on the litigation becomes his lawful wife, according to Guajiro law.

At the present time this custom, which previously used to end with the death of the lover, the husband, or of both, since the husband tried to solve the problem in this way in spite of future consequences, is now dying out due to the emigration of the men and the growing prostitution among the women, both in and outside the peninsula, for the many reasons already seen.

583 567 Marriage of female bond servants and slaves. Although this aspect will be treated fully in the chapter headed Slavery and Bond Service, we would like to present it, if only summarily, in this chapter so as not to disturb the order of the ideas we are tracing.

The women and children taken prisoners in the wars which strong clan groups declare on weak ones when these have caused the death of one of their members enter into the state of slavery. This means that the all-powerful will of their owner may be imposed on every act of their lives, even up to his being able to kill them without possibility of claim, since their relatives who would be the claimants have been slaughtered or dispersed.

In this way adult women and girl slaves may be sold, and in effect are, especially to be taken to Curaçao, Trinidad, etc.; they may be given away to their owners' relatives, or used in domestic service. If the master of a woman slave wishes to

/102 cont./

583 667 possess her, she must submit, and the child that may result will be the property of the father, owner of the slave. Furthermore, if some man who likes the slave wants to buy her, he may negotiate with her owner and pay what he asks, with which payment she is freed and given the standing of wife, and the children will be free and belong to the maternal group which their oppressors had tried to extinguish. If the woman slave has had sexual relations with someone and as a consequence is pregnant, her owner hurries to oblige her to confess who caused it in order to make a compensation claim. If the payment is only for abuse (which is what it is considered when the lover is someone influential), the owner receives it, and the child remains a slave like his mother but with a lesser degree of oppression. /103/

567 Sometime the man who causes the slave's pregnancy is the son of her owner. In such a case there is no compensation claim. At most his mother scolds the boy, the pregnancy is allowed to take its course, and the child remains in the same condition as its mother, that is to say, slavery.

What puts a limit to the sexual freedom of a man is the compensation claim that the woman's relatives might present; consequently, when she has no relatives or if those she has are not powerful, the woman is the object of insolence and desire on the part of men who find in her an easy and not at all dangerous satisfaction. Thus, women slaves are continually abused by everyone, having no defense whatever since their owners sometimes make no claim, as the children born represent a profit because they become their property.

The same or an even worse condition is the lot of the daughters of slaves who have been bought as wives from their owners by someone, because they belong to a maternal family group that has been destroyed or dispersed and they are really the last of their clan. In this situation, they have barely reached puberty when they are violated or besieged and, having no possibility of defending themselves, they go on submitting until they end up as prostitutes.

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583 567 Returning to the women slaves, we would say lastly that the owner may give a woman slave to one of his other slaves for a wife or sell her to another owner to be the wife of one of his slaves. If the owner buys a woman slave to provide a wife for one of his male slaves, the children of the union belong to him, and he also collects the marriage payment for the first daughter of this couple to marry, in order to be repaid the amount he paid for her mother. (Aspects of descent will be treated fully in the chapter, Slavery and Bond Service).

591 Marriage residence. Guajiro law covering land gives the Indian ample scope to fix his residence once he has married, for apart from the fact that primarily the new family cell may establish its home in the maternal house of either the wife or the husband, it also offers the following possibilities: a) on the wife's side, on the land of the wives of any of her brothers, since the payment made by the family for each of them included the right to establish homes, to open cleared land, and to pasture livestock, a right which also holds good on the clan lands of the wives of maternal uncles; b) on the husband's side, on the lands of his father and that of the wives of his brothers and maternal uncles, for the same reasons as stated above.

But Guajiro custom generally inclines toward establishing a dwelling beside that of the wife's mother, so that one can say /104/ of marriage that it is matrilocal. The newly married couple live for a time in the same house with the wife's maternal relatives, but when their family increases and they begin to acquire a certain financial independence, they build a house near that of her mother.

Presumably the marriage payment contributes to the marital residence of the couple, since, as we have seen, this requires the girl's consanguineous kin to supply room and board to the husband.

After a more or less lengthy interval has been spent on the lands of the woman's clan, the family, now considerably increased and economically established through the efforts of the

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622 As he is the recognized family head, his own conduct should be strictly in accordance with Guajiro laws, although this does not imply that he does not try to obtain the maximum advantages, even beyond those stipulated, when he intervenes in his own peoples' affairs.

His own personal superiority obliges him to show his economic strength. In every collection that may be made for the marriage of a relative of his, or for any other kind of payment, he should head the list with a good subscription which should in no case be less than any other contributor's. At wakes he should do likewise, and also, by his authority, oblige all his own people to contribute adequately, as this establishes the good name of the family group which he heads and directs.

He ought to be kindly, amiable, and cordial with all, listen to all complaints calmly and patiently, be ready to help everyone; he should keep his house open to everyone, for his hospitality must be the most ample and welcoming.

The office of the cacique is transmitted in two ways: It is inherited, in which case it passes to a nephew, the son of a sister; and it is acquired by virtue of personal and family merit: high social and economic position, facility in oratory, knowledge of native psychology, a suave but energetic character, power of conviction, friendliness, and diplomatic talents. /139/

VIII

SLAVERY AND BOND SERVICE

567 Causes of slavery. Slavery is always an outcome of the violation of the regimen for social stability in the community; this means that if an offense is committed against a member of one of the consanguineous groups (totemic clans) existing in La Guajira,

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567 punishment is inflicted on all the members of the offender's group, punishment that may reach the point of slavery. To clarify this, we quote an example: If a member of the Uriyú clan, or consanguineous group, should kill, for whatever reason, a member of the Jusayú group, an aggressive situation arises. The proceedings to resolve it are as follows: The offended group sends its delegate, or orator /Spanish palabra, lit., "word"/, to the offender group to request the indemnity for the offense received. In its turn the offender group appoints its orator, or intermediary, and these two come to an agreement to establish the terms necessary for solving the conflict, terms which consist of the special payment which the offender group must pay to the family of the dead person, generally paid in livestock (cattle, horses, sheep, goats, etc.), precious necklaces and jewels. If the payment agreed on, to which all the members of the offender group will have to contribute, is paid, the problem is settled. But if, on the contrary, the offender's group refuses to pay the sum demanded by the offended, that is, if the two sides do not arrive at a settlement, a state of war without quarter is declared: each group looks for alliances with other clans and, as a result, the original act committed against social stability can involve practically all of La Guajira in war. Alliances between groups are established on the basis of kinship or of marriage unions.

As a result of the conquest of one of the groups, slavery appears. All the members of the defeated group who were not killed in the war or could not manage to escape fall into the hands of the victors and are considered from that moment to be slaves without restriction to age, sex, or status.

It should be pointed out that for a situation such as the one we have given as an example to arise, it is essential that the offended person belong to an /140/ economically stronger clan than that of the offender or that he be united by marriage alliance or some other tie with such an economically stronger clan. In the case of the offended person's belonging to an economically weaker clan, without allies and few in number, his clan will always reach an agreement, because in every case the weaker group will have

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567 to accept the conditions proposed by the other, owing to its inability to defend itself. Furthermore, when the offender clan is very inferior to that of the offended person then claims are not even presented; the stronger group proceeds directly against the weaker and exterminates or enslaves its members.

The condition of conflict which we have described in the previous paragraphs is reached not only after homicide or after a delict involving bloodshed, but also for abduction of women, proven adultery, etc., when the indemnity claimed by the clan of the offended party has not been paid.

(For further information read the chapter on Law).

[721] It is also very important to note that in La Guajira, wars are not intentionally made with the manifest aim of acquiring slaves by the defeat of another group; slavery in La Guajira, as we have stated, is a consequence of the violation of the code of social order and not an end in itself. It is, then, a social punishment, not a commercial or economic institution. So much is this so, that female slaves are sold at low prices and male slaves may even become an economic burden which the owner bears rather than giving them freedom.

Control and regulation. Slaves and their property are divided according to the social position of the participants of the victorious group in the following way: by the head, who is usually the maternal uncle of highest prestige in the small family group initially offended; or by the mother; or the eldest son appointed by the mother; or, finally, by the head who acted as leader of the punitive expedition. First, the part going to the injured family is handed over as payment for the offense. Of this sum the greater part is for the mother, then another share goes to the maternal uncles /and aunts? tios/, after this some part to the nephews /and nieces, sobrinos/, and, finally, a share to the brothers /and sisters, hermanos/ of the man directly offended. Of the remaining booty, the greatest and best part goes to the head of the expedition if he does not belong to the same small family as the injured man; the balance is then divided among

/140 cont./

567 those who took part in the war. If the head of the expedition is a maternal uncle of the offended man, his share is considered as already included in the portion which his small family receives. Also, when an expedition enslaves captives, its chief will usually later distribute /141/ among his close relatives part of the booty which has come to him: first to his mother, then to his sisters and his aunts, and then to the rest of his relatives, if there is a sufficient number /of slaves/; the same is done by the rest of the relatives /of the injured family/ when the booty has been considerable; booty includes slaves and their personal property, real property, and their livestock. As a general rule, slaves acquired by the defeat of a group become the property of the relatives of the injured man as a recompense for the wrong done.

Treatment of slaves. The slave is considered by his master as a thing, as any item of property; he can dispose of him freely, either selling him, giving him away, or making use of his labor; [838] he can take female slaves as his women and make use of the males in homosexual practices if he is deviant in this way. He may even kill them without it being considered a social offense /falta/, because of the fact that as the slave belongs to a consanguineous group which has been annihilated or at least conquered, no one can make a claim for his death. Women slaves may be used as objects of pleasure by the sons or the maternal nephews /sic/ of the master as soon as they reach the age of puberty, the age at which boys begin to seek them out to require love making without their parents being aware of the fact, obliging them to have sexual relations about which they are unable to protest, as the boy is, in a way, also their master; it appears /moreover/ that female slaves customarily are willing to accede to the wishes of the boy.

Rights and privileges of slaves. The slave has to be fed by the master, who generally gives him the remains from his meals, although he may at times give him corn to make mazamorra; clothing also must be supplied by the owner, and it is considered an obligation of the master to supply wives for male slaves, for

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567 which purpose he gives them women slaves he owns, or buys for them women of a poor clan for whom he will pay an insignificant price, ten male goats, for example. When a slave becomes pregnant by one of the master's sons, the mother must allow the slave's pregnancy to proceed normally and limit herself to reproaching the boy.

Rights, privileges, and powers of the master. Masters are absolute owners of the goods of their slaves. As slavery is always the consequence of war between two clan groups /caused/ by an offence by one against the other, /142/ the property of all the members of the conquered group passes under the control of the victors according to the system of distribution explained above. That is, the fields, pastures, woods, water, wells, domestic utensils, clothes, livestock, jewelry, etc., of the conquered group become the property of the conquerors. As regards the slaves themselves, we have the following facts: Males are put to work by the master in all activities, especially in agriculture [838] and pasturing, and are made use of as objects of homosexual pleasure if the master is a /sexual/ deviant. (We have no data on homosexuality as social etiquette, that is, lending a slave for homosexual practices to sodomitical guests). The owner may punish his slaves freely even to killing them.

Women /slaves/ are used, as we saw previously, in domestic labor, weaving, etc; they are obliged to act as wet nurses of the children of the master at his wife's request. In this case, the slave's child has to be weaned and brought up on corn mazamorra; the slaves also carry out the role of nursemaids to the children, and are used as objects of sexual pleasures by the master, the master's sons, and his guests, following a formula of social etiquette in La Guajira. We do not know of any datum which can confirm homosexuality practiced with female slaves by their mistresses, nor of the corresponding aspect of hospitality.

In remote times, old women, young women, girls, and youths, boys, and adult males were enslaved, but at the present time it is almost a norm to keep only women as slaves of war.

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567 The owner, or better the person to whom human booty goes after the war, may keep men as slaves or simply kill them off; the latter is usually done now for fear of having to support and /thus/ give opportunities to an adult who wants to avenge himself; at the same time male children will be killed to avoid the similar risk of vengeance when the youngsters reach manhood, as it has been demonstrated that when a slave has been placed in such a state in his childhood, he waits until the head who conquered his family has grown old and then kills him, often torturing him first.

The owner may sell his female slaves as wives for free men; from that moment he loses his rights over them as these are transferred to the husband. They are also accustomed to selling young slaves of both sexes for the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, the haciendas of Venezuela and Magdalena department in Columbia, and for other Columbian and /143/ Venezuelan cities. They do this instead of killing them in order to get some economic usufruct. Finally, at any time they can kill any /of their/ slaves, man or woman.

Punishment of slaves at times reaches the point of savagery. They tell, for example, of a native family which had as a slave a girl of tender age, who on a certain occasion disobeyed an order of her mistress; for punishment her hands were pushed into a fire, and as a consequence of the burns the child lost both of them. The child was found later in the woods -- her mistress in addition to burning her hands had thrown her out of the house -- biting off the green portions of a cactus with her teeth to feed herself as she could not gather them with her hands, whose flesh was putrid and eaten by worms; the child was suffering incredibly from hunger and thirst. She was taken to the Capuchin mission, where they gave her medical attention and where she is now living. The Indians of Nazaret when telling about this act of savagery spoke of it with horror.

Slave trade. Slave trade in La Guajira has three principal aspects: a) trade between natives; b) trade between natives and whites; c) trade between whites.

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567 In relation to the first aspect we have the following facts.

1. A master sells his women slaves for three ends: a) as wives for free Indians at very low prices; b) for domestic service in the homes of other Indian families, who in this manner acquire ownership of the slave; c) for social etiquette, when importuned by a friend.

In the first case it can be said that the woman is freed, while in the other cases she remains in her position of slavery and only experiences a change of owner.

2. Men slaves are sold to another free Indian who needs manual labor in his agricultural and pasturing work; the slave keeps his same social status.

3. Furthermore, the Guajiro also sells his slaves to whites (white being understood to be all who are not Guajiro), either in the interior of the peninsula or in the islands or neighboring lands. The young men are sold to be brought to the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, where they customarily escape with frequency, traveling as stowaways on ships; when they reach La Guajira they regain their freedom. Slaves are also sold to the haciendas of Venezuela, especially those devoted to the cultivation of cacao and sugar cane or stock raising. In these places slavery reaches a point of /144/ maximum expression, for the slave is branded with the brand of the owner of the hacienda, loses his Indian surname, and is renamed after the owner or hacienda where he works. The slaves sometimes escape from these haciendas also, but only with great difficulty, for on fleeing they are pursued in what becomes a veritable man hunt.

Prepubescent girls are frequently sold to be carried outside the peninsula by whites. Usually they escape on reaching puberty and return to La Guajira, where as a general rule they regain their freedom. This sale of young Guajiro girls has given rise to an extensive trade in which individuals of the department of Magdalena in Colombia, of Venezuela, and of the adjacent islands take part. At times it reaches scandalous extremes, and it has become a source of riches to the so-called

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567 Guajiro "caciques," who are no more than mestizos or mulattos who take advantage of the unfortunate social situation of the Guajiro Indians and exploit them for commercial gain, making themselves absolute masters over human lives and possessions.

The Capuchin mission with their establishments in Nazaret and Ríohacha buys slave children to educate them in the orphanage under their charge and to give them back their freedom. Until recently, the Colombian government included in the budget a subsidy given to the mission for carrying out their activities, a sum for the purchase of these slave children. For some years, however, the appropriation of this sum has not been forthcoming.

The trade in Indian slaves between white women or women civilizados is found especially in the districts bordering on Venezuela and in the department of Magdalena, but up to the present we do not know the intimate details of this traffic.

Permanence of the status of slavery. The individual taken as a slave retains this status during his lifetime unless some special occurrence brings him his freedom. His children may or may not remain in the condition of slaves according to the character of their birth with respect to the matrimonial or extramatrimonial unions, which we can define as: (1) the children of men and women slaves are slaves and belong to the owner of their parents; (2) children of a slave father and free mother are not slaves even if the mother has been bought by the owner as a wife for his slave, since according to the Guajiro custom of affiliation they belong to the mother. These children, however, have certain characteristics of bond servants although these are not well defined. The wedding payment made for the first daughter /145/ of this marriage belongs to the owner, who is thus repaid for what he paid for the mother. The children of these mixed marriages go to serve in the house of their parent's master. Generally, their own parents sell them when they are children as bond servants for Aruba, Curaçao, Ríohacha, Maracaibo, Barranquilla, and Santa Marta. When they become adult they often return to La Guajira, but as they belong to a

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567 conquered group they lack all rights in their society, since they are exiled from their original home, without consanguineous relatives because of the extinction of their clan or because of its poverty; consequently, they remain marginal to society in the class of pariahs; for this reason, women, on returning, resort almost without exception to prostitution. (3) The children of a slave woman and free father retain the mark of the mother unless she has been bought as a wife.

Manumission. The three forms of manumission of slaves known to us are the following:

1. By flight from the home of their masters. The slave, nevertheless, remains in a rather difficult position.

2. By purchase of female slaves as wives for free men.

3. By purchase of girl and boy slaves by the Capuchin mission to educate them in an orphanage and give them their freedom.

567 538 Slavery in oral literature. Slavery is mentioned in the oral narratives of the natives that refer to legends as much as it is in those that have the character of true histories. Of these we can present two: One is connected with the Kusina Indians /renegade Guajiro, more commonly spelled Cocina. -- Ed./ who one night decided to steal the livestock of an Indian called Kurírapáta of the Sierra de Jarara, who, while defending himself was shot in the thigh by the marauders. The story relates that Kurírapáta was picked up by his sisters and taken to their home, and that one night he dreamt that he should swallow a charm (a túma, "precious stone") and leave his wife, taking in exchange for her one of his female slaves. He carried out what his dream had commanded him; he swallowed the túma and called in one of his slaves, saying to her, "Come with me; you are to be my wife." In this way he cured his ailment.

In the narration of the Guajiro myth, the shaman Umaralá recounts how he received on the death of his aunt -- who had a great affection for him -- all her possessions as inheritance, and among them, her slaves. Disillusioned by sorrow over

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567 the death of his aunt, Umaralá dedicated himself to living in
538 a hut in the near-by woods where his aunt lay buried. There he fed on roots and wild fruit picked in the woods and only received a visit from time to time from his male slave, from whom he had also parted. /146/

175 Negro slavery in the eighteenth century. A most interest-
567 ing aspect of slavery in La Guajira is that related to Negro
648 slavery among these natives, which was at its height during the period of colonization, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was due to Negro commerce and to pearl fishing. Unfortunately, there remain only a few notes about these happenings, written by Father Julián in the
[114] eighteenth century, which have aided us in writing this last section regarding slavery. In the following lines we transcribe these notes which confirm the first case known up to the present in the history of all American Indians regarding the presence of Negro slaves among them. Father Julián says: "The fishermen of such pearls are the Guajiro Indians, who are in control of all this coast from the Río de la Hacha almost up to the famous lake of Maracaybo. These are the fishermen and owners of the pearls. It is they who sell them, who carry them to the Río de la Hacha, who trade them with foreigners who come in their brigs to these waters or anchor in the Bahía Honda. For the pearls they bring in, these Indians receive firearms, alcohol, wines, and even slaves, all of which they procure, becoming richer and ever more insolent and less conquerable." (1)

1. Julián, Antonio: La Perla de América, Provincia de Santa Marta, reconocida, observada y expuesta en discursos históricos /The Pearl of America: Province of Santa Marta, checked, observed, and explained in historical

1:Gutierrez de Pineda--180 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

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discourses/. Madrid, by don Antonio de Sancha. 1787. 1st III, 12. NOTE: all italics are ours.

Further on, he repeats the reference in these terms: "The value given them by the buyers is represented by three kinds of things. For the pearls, the foreigners give them: firearms, nails, and even slaves, in addition to cloth brought from Europe...." (2)

2. Ibid., 1st V, 19.

More explicit in relation to the problem is the following paragraph: "The Guajiro are fishers of pearls which they sell to the dealers, who in turn sell them to certain brigs and packetboats in exchange for spirits, Negro slaves, and firearms." (3)

3. Ibid., 2nd XII, 187.

And finally he ends by outlining the duties that these Negro slaves carried out and the recial mixing that resulted between them and the Indians in the paragraph which we transcribe as follows: "...He then gave me two rather useful pieces of information which I, impelled by zeal for the good of the Guajiro Nation and of the Monarchy, now retell. /147/ The first is the provision of arms and knowledge of their use which they get from constant trade and contact with foreigners, and the second is that through these /foreigners/ have now been introduced male and female Negroes and intermarriage with the same Indians who buy them and keep them as slaves, and this leads not only to an increase in the number of people among the Guajiro but also to an increase in a diversity of fearsome races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who, united with the Guajiro, will make this Nation formidable

/147 cont./

175 ever more and more and more difficult to conquer. In fact,
•567 when we came into the lands of the Guajiro the Cacique came
648 to meet us with two Negroes as lackeys, dressed in bright red uniforms with all the corresponding facings and braid, something which was quite a novelty to me and made a deep impression." (1)

1. Ibid., 2nd XIV, 159.

BOND SERVICE

566 There is a fundamental difference between the concepts of slavery and bond service in La Guajira. While it is certainly true that in both cases the liberty of the individual is restricted, it is also true that it is restricted in different degrees. Similarly, we can state that while in slavery the owner has absolute rights over the person of the slave, in the case of bond service he has power only over his working potential.

Bond service includes certain groups whose economic, social, and numerical situation has weakened; they are clans which, to a certain point, are without effective male backing and who for this reason attach themselves, if not by law at least by act, to a family of superior position belonging to a strong group, in exchange for the use of their services.

Origin. Bond service has three causes. First, the voluntary sale of men and women, and particularly of children /en la edad infantile/, by their immediate owners, the mother, the maternal uncle of most authority, the grandmother, and the maternal aunts being considered as such; second, when a group cannot comply satisfactorily with its economic-social commitments, such as the payment of debts, indemnity for an offense, etc.; and, third, in cases of social inferiority in which the application of the law is up to the offended party, and certain members are taken from the lower social group as bond servants, especially when the offense committed is robbery.

[48 cont.]

682 murderer's family after the crime were extremely cruel, as was to be expected given the Guajiro social organization. Their homes were burned down, their sources of water supply demol-
●[567] ished, three men and four women were killed, and their children enslaved.

782 The interesting part of the subject we are now dealing with
751 lies in the sacrifice of animals. These apparently serve as
761 substitutes for the individuals whose sentence has been revealed in a dream. They take their place and are sacrificed in their stead. As a death has taken place, the evil spirit which had enslaved the future criminal in order to carry out its determination to harm him is now mollified by this act of propitiation. Moreover, as the animal (the black male goat in this case) shares the qualities of its owner by reason of such ownership, a part of the personality of the person sentenced to be punished in the dream is also sacrificed. The individual thus suffers two processes, death in part through the sacrifice of the animal and participation in the sacrifice by bathing in its blood.

171 Possible vestiges of this native belief still persist in
761 Colombian folklore in some parts of the departments of Antioquia,
825 Boyacá, Nariño, and Santander. There the people hold the be-
538 lief that when a domestic animal dies, especially if it is an animal that has been much loved by the people of the house, it is a sign that some member of the household had been about to die. The sentence of death which lay on that person, according to the explanation given in all cases, was transferred to the animal by a special concession from God, [49] thus avoiding a greater calamity to the family. In Nariño this belief, according to information from the Licentiate Chaves, appears in popular oral literature. There is in reality a story which tells of a recently married couple who felt or knew (we cannot say how) that they would die very shortly. To avoid this, the wife dedicated herself to breeding cuyes (curíes) [conejillo de Indias, a mammal of the order of rodents], which one by one died off; then she hastened to breed chickens, which also successively died; she then devoted herself to dogs, which also died. With the successive deaths of the animals, they were able to elude their own fate and lived happily together for a long time, free

[99 cont.]

751 726 579 the charm. He has two aims in view, to render himself immune from harm from his enemies' weapons, and to acquire courage and coolness in the coming fight. This type of charm is called ranfa in Guajiro.

754 [179] [171] The evil eye. This is one of the beliefs which seems to us to have been acquired by the Guajiro Indians through acculturation, as we have not found it in any purely native group but, on the contrary, have found it very widely spread in all parts of Colombia, especially among the mestizos. We have personally encountered it in the departments of Cauca, Valle del Cauca, Tolima, Antioquia, Santander, and Magdalena. Without being exclusive to Negro or Negroid groups, it is among them that this belief is found with the greatest intensity and frequency.

175 563 The presence of Negroes in La Guajira is not due only to racial mixing with the groups of mulattos of the coast but was initiated in the centuries of the Colony as can be seen from these notes taken from Father Julián: "Two evident and palpable reasons came to me: practical reasons which because of my zeal for the welfare of the Guajiro Nation and for the Monarchy I now express. The first is their provision and use of [100] firearms through their continual trade with foreigners; secondly, these same foreigners have brought in Negroes and Negresses, and these [563] have mixed with the Indian men and women who have bought and kept them as slaves. The result is that not only is the number of people in La Guajira increased but so also is the number of terrible races of Mestizos, Mulattos, Zambos, etc., who united with the Guajiro will make this nation even more formidable and everyday more difficult to conquer." (59)

59. Julián, Antonio. La Perla de la América [The Pearl of America], 2nd, XIV, 195.

754 Referring to this popular Santander belief, Juan de Dios Arias affirms: "In our territory, for example, there is a very general belief that certain persons have the evil eye, and if they should look fixedly and with evil intention at a child, in the course of a few days the latter will be covered with pimples and sore places which are difficult to cure. This evil influence is

[106 cont.]

782 424 789 Magic prayers. As a matter of interest we transcribe below without any comment the following statement we recorded: there are a few special prayers only known to certain natives, the verbal formula of which they sell at times to whoever may need it, on the understanding that these prayers will be used in all good faith and belief in their magic power, prayers that serve to cure whatever plagues may occur, and frequently do occur, in the cotton fields.

538 789 755 Magic charms in the oral literature. From the stories we were able to collect among the Guajiro natives relating to their daily life, there is one that has a clear connection with magic charms. It is the one which refers to the struggle of the Indian Kurfta-Páta, of Jarara, with some Kusina Indians who had come to rob him of his livestock. In this struggle the Jarara Indian was wounded in the thigh, and his cure was effected through a dream in which it was communicated to him that he should swallow a charm (a tuma, "a precious stone") and leave his wife to exchange her for a slave. Kurfta-Páta obeyed these injunctions and was cured.

We have then a new magic charm which has a medicinal function and which must be added to those we have already noted throughout this chapter. Its magic action is combined with a social act of great importance within the Guajiro community: that of a man leaving his own wife and replacing her with a slave, descending thereby in the social scale, as there is [547] a great difference in status between a free woman and a common slave or bond servant. A new magic object, the tuma, appears as the possessor of supernatural powers capable of warding off those evils that can overpower an individual.

789 Summary and classification. 1) What we have called magic charms [contras mágicas] in this chapter include three classes of known magic objects: fetishes, amulets, and talismans. [107]

2) All these possess in greater or lesser degree a magic power capable of working either good or evil.

3) Their action in the majority of cases can be controlled and directed by their owners, especially in the case of doing ill

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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the men speak some Spanish in addition to their native language. Some of them know how to read and write. They are almost entirely pastoral, possessing great herds of horses, asses, sheep, goats, and cattle. They have borrowed a great deal from the Europeans but they have also kept their own culture to a remarkable degree. As usual, native elements are most strongly present in the non-material phases of culture. Unfortunately they are not united or organized into a modern state, though against all foreigners they stand together as a unit. Authority is acquired by certain caciques through their wealth and membership in the 'casta,' the major social grouping in Guajiro society. Each casta claims a mythological origin and holds sovereignty over a well-defined territory. Many of these castas or social groupings are further subdivided. Each casta has its caciques whose function is chiefly to settle disputes and whose position is inherited, matrilineally. The oldest of them is allowed more authority, but generally it is the wealthiest man, and the one who can marshal more retainers, armed with rifles and revolvers, who is listened to with greater respect. There are further divisions in Guajiro society. At the top are the caciques and their families who are rich and powerful. The next group is composed of peons or retainers in the service of the upper stratum, and at the bottom are the 'slaves' who have been born in that condition or have been enslaved following an offense to some powerful group, and who can even be let out to work for planters in the sugar fields of Zulia. The life of the poor people has not changed much since early times. Polygamy is widely practiced, as is also concubinage, by the wealthier men. Each wife lives in her own rancho and there awaits the occasional visit of her husband. The children inherit property and social affiliations through the mother. Disputes that arise within a casta are settled by arbiters chosen by the families of the litigants. Disputes inter-casta may be settled by arbitration if violence is not desirable. Generally the killing of an individual gives rise to armed action with an eventual composition by payment.

My informants attempted to demonstrate the difference be-

4: Petrullo E-5 (1935) 1937
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could not have paid the price in the first place, and besides B's family would have little to fear from them.

The father and maternal uncle of the slain man take the initiative in seeking payment which goes to the mother's family.

If A and B had been workmen or retainers of C, a cacique, and A's family could not have paid the price of composition, then C would have paid B's family and in compensation would have enslaved A and his family. Payment for killing a peon is 10 asses, 50 to 100 sheep, and 10 steers.

Case IV: A was working for B. In the course of the work through no fault of B, A was hurt. B paid A's family for the injury. A's family took care of A.

Case V: A and B were working for C. Through accident B hurt A. B's family had to settle the injury with A's family. Had A been hurt in the course of the work without B acting as the instrument, then C, the employer, would have had to pay.

This case is similar to the one described by Simons. If A lends a horse to B and B is hurt through the instrumentality of the horse, A has to pay. If A gives rum to B and B injures C, A is held responsible.

Case VI: A wants to marry B. B or B's family reject his suit. A goes to B's rancho *at night* and commits suicide there B's family has to pay A's family for the death of A, B being considered as the direct instrument that caused A's death.

Case VII: A injures or kills B, caught *in flagrante delicto* with A's wife. A has to pay B's family a price minus an amount considered fair value for the sexual privilege that B exercised on A's wife.

These illustrations point to the absolute nature of Guajiro law. No extenuating circumstances are allowed to enter into settlement of cases of battery or other trespass on the rights of an individual. The case is different in so far as public sympathy and moral censure or approbation are concerned. Furthermore, society as a whole takes no action in righting wrongs. The family of the injured person must seek composition, and if it is not powerful enough to demand a high price it has to be satisfied with a smaller one. Conversely, there is

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797 they take into boarding schools, so-called *orfelinatos*. It
736 was not difficult to get children for these schools there. Many poor families voluntarily hand their children over in hard times, when they cannot support them themselves. Others sell them for a quantity of maize. If the mission did not buy them, some well-to-do chief would, and they
● [567] would become slaves. The monks did not always know whether a child offered them was stolen or not.

Well-to-do Indians also liked to send their children to Nazaret to learn Spanish and other useful things. These, however, often became more Indian than the Indians once they left the school. We met a few who refused to remember their Spanish and who appeared to be quite uninfluenced by the monks. This evident reaction against civilization was due, perhaps, to the strictly ordered life of the school.

The poor children had to stay there always. Some of them worked in a cotton plantation which the monks had started in order to help the mission's finances. There were already one or two married couples. They were not considered proper Indians, because the men wore trousers.

584 A Guajiro girl is normally not allowed to choose her husband. *Her family does that. Thus, if the monks and*
797 nuns decided which pupil was to marry which, it amounted to the same thing. The monks, of course, did not get a bride-price, nor did the bridegroom often receive his morning-gift that traditionally consists of ornaments and clothing.

797 Why had they built the mission station just at that spot, where it was so difficult to maintain it? The choice had been dictated mainly by the monks' desire to try and save children and others from being sold as slaves. Also there was water and it was near a harbour.

567 Do people really traffic in slaves in our day? Yes, slavery still exists. In Guajira, the traffic increases whenever there is a drought and times are bad. It has always gone through Castilletes on the south coast, which lies just where the frontier between Colombia and Venezuela reaches the sea. The slaves are sold to Venezuela, which is also more accessible for that part of the peninsula.

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One day we met three slave-workers. They were sitting on a hillside gnawing at roast goat's feet. Talking with them we discovered that they had to serve their master without wages. Must they do so all their lives? we asked. Perhaps not, but they were bound to work for him till certain debts and obligations had been paid off, and these seemed very complicated and vague.

The real slaves for life are the prisoners taken in war. Thus there are various forms of slavery in Guajira. It is, of course, an ancient phenomenon, of which the whites would seem to have taken advantage rather than to have combatted.

Slavery is a form of punishment. Formerly it was only conquered people and prisoners of war who were kept as slaves. This was usual among several Indian peoples, especially the Aruaks, to which group the Guajiro belong. With them slavery has been systematized.

Let us see how it is that someone becomes a slave. If an Indian has been insulted or killed, his clan demands compensation. If this is not paid, war breaks out between the two clans and those taken prisoner are treated as slaves without further ado. The Indians, however, never begin a war for the purpose of obtaining slaves. The slaves are reckoned as part of the damages, and they and the possessions of the conquered are divided among the victors according to certain principles. The eldest maternal uncle, mother, nephew, brothers and the leader of the fighting are entitled to damages; and if there is enough, the leader of the warriors will usually distribute some of the booty to his nearest relatives, mother, sisters, and maternal aunts. All the property of the enslaved prisoners-of-war passes into the hands of the victors: their pastures, water-holes, cattle, utensils, clothing, ornaments.

Slaves are the property of their masters, who can do with them as they see fit; sell them, give them away, kill them or use their labour and, if they are women, have intercourse with them as they may desire. The same goes for the men, if their master is a homosexual, as is not unusual in Guajira. The owner's unmarried sons or nephews also con-

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567 sider themselves entitled to the female slaves. The owner, however, is bound to give a slave enough food from his own kitchen or to provide maize or other raw ingredients for him or her to cook. He must also provide a male slave [435] with a wife, either giving him a female slave or buying a girl for him from some poor clan for ten goats. The state of [429] slavery is hereditary; thus the children of slaves belong to the owner of their parents. If the owner of a male slave should buy a poor free girl to make him a wife, her children [611] will be free, since relationship is reckoned on the female side. If a free man pays a bride-price for a slave, she becomes free; but if he merely buys her for a house-slave she remains a slave. Male slaves are set to work in the fields or with the herds. Female slaves perform domestic occupations. Sometimes a female slave becomes nurse to the owner's children. [574 837] The laws of Guajira hospitality require that the master of a house place a female slave at his guests' disposal for the night.

The Indians, of course, have the right to punish their slaves, but the chastisement is seldom excessive. Slaves are *treated as superior domestic animals*, or perhaps I ought to say, as we treat domestic animals, for the Creoles, the Indians' neighbours, are not animal-lovers. Naturally there are cruel Indians too. The monks once came across a poor little slave girl out in the wilds. Her hands were so badly burned that she could not use them. She had been trying to keep herself alive by gnawing at cactus with her mouth. They took her back with them. It transpired that her mistress had lost her temper with her, thrust her hands into the fire and then driven her away.

The Indians make a distinction between slaves taken in war, who are their master's property, and dependent workers. These latter have to do what their master tells them, but he does not dispose of their persons. I called them slave-workers. They can be sold, but in theory it is only their labour that is transferred.

735 In times of distress the poor not infrequently have to get 567 rid of members of the family who are unable to contribute to their own support, and this they do by selling them. This

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applies mainly to children. These then become slave-workers and by right should be liberated once they have paid off with their work the sum for which they were bought, but that may not always be done. It is the mother, the uncle or the aunts who decide when a child is to be sold. This seems cruel to us now, yet it is not so long ago that children in the country were auctioned as workers in Sweden and elsewhere.

The owner of these slave-workers is bound to provide them with food and clothing as he must his slaves; thus children sold into slavery at least do not starve to death as they well might at home.

An Indian who has been unable to pay his debts must in certain circumstances go and serve his creditor. That is reminiscent of our own ancient slavery for debt. The obligation to work for another can also be a punishment laid upon a thief or a robber. As long as the slave-worker's clan is able to take action against the master if he goes beyond his entitlement, the position of the slave-worker is different from that of the slave; but if his clan is weak and unable to help him, he can be utterly in his master's power. At times a whole clan may become so weak that it has to seek the support of a stronger clan, and thereby becomes bound to work for the latter and is entirely dependent upon it.

While the master of a female slave may use her as he will, he has no right to have intercourse with a female slave-worker. Nor can he prevent others from entering into relations with her. If her clan has any voice in affairs, it will require damages of anyone who seduces her; but if her clan is powerless, then the female slave-worker is without support either of her clan or her master, and not infrequently ends as a prostitute. Prostitution is contrary to Indian law, but nowadays it does exist.

Even if a girl's clan is insignificant it will always demand damages, if someone has had relations with the girl and made her pregnant. Usually the man will pay up, that being the decent thing to do. Perhaps he wishes to marry the girl; in that case he must first pay her master the debt

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which occasioned her becoming a slave-worker, and then pay a bride-price to her family. The girl becomes free and, of course, her child is born free.

Real slaves are those taken in war. Nowadays they seldom take men or boys prisoner, but prefer to kill them instead. Otherwise there is always a risk that eventually they will try to avenge themselves. Women and girls are mostly spared and made slaves. Civil strife is common, and the Macuira Hills were no more peaceful than other areas, but the Indians were reluctant to harm the monks, though on occasion even they became involved.

One day a violent feud broke out between two clans. The chief of one clan himself led the fighting and had determined that the enemy was to be utterly exterminated. The battle raged quite close to the mission. To be anywhere near the Indians when they are fighting is dangerous, for those with rifles are seldom able to shoot and stray bullets fly everywhere. Poisoned arrows are also in the air, but they are better aimed and do not travel so far.

One day the monks heard that this chief had captured a couple of boys of the enemy clan and had ordered that they should be burned alive. The boys were reported to have been tied to a tree, round which a large fire had been lit, after which the chief's men had gone away, leaving the boys to their fate. Two of the monks set off at once for the tree. As they hurried along rain began to fall and they hoped that that might put the fire out and so save the boys' lives. When they arrived, however, one of the boys was already dead, having been suffocated by the smoke. The other was still alive and the monks carried him back with them, though they scarcely expected him to survive, for he was very badly burned. It seems pointless and cruel to kill little boys, but the Indians were afraid that, if they spared them, they would take vengeance later; thus, when they heard what had happened, they sent a message saying that the monks must hand the boy over.

The monks replied that the boy was dead. That was the only way of saving his life—if it could be saved. He died during the night, however, and was buried in the mission's

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garden. In the morning the Indians came and demanded the body. The monks refused, not wishing to lend themselves to violation of the dead, and said that they would only treat with the chief. He, however, was not in the vicinity. The Indians threatened to burn the mission station. Fortunately the chief arrived at this juncture, and told his braves that they must not use violence against the monks.

'Never to kill and just to rescue those condemned to death as you do, does not fit in with our laws,' he said to the monks. 'You Capuchins lack any sense of reality. But I shall do you no harm, since you never harm others.'

It sometimes happens that the victor instead of killing his male prisoners will sell them as slaves to the white men, preferably to places at some distance from the peninsula, such as the Dutch islands of Aruba and Curaçao, Zulia in Venezuela, or the Magdalena department of Colombia. The Indians deal in slaves among themselves; they also sell them to the white men and these, too, traffic in them among themselves.

Legally, a slave sold to a white person should become free, but in reality the owner of the *hacienda* treats him as a serf, branding his own mark on him, depriving him of his clan name and giving him his own. To sell a prisoner into slavery is not always to hear the last of him; for some have escaped from the Dutch islands, stowing away on boats, and on their return have exacted vengeance. It is not easy for hacienda slaves to escape. They are often hunted like animals.

There was a considerable sale of young girls to the whites, a scandalous traffic. In Indian territory this was mainly in the hands of quasi-chiefs, generally mestizos and other half-breeds with no right to the title, who cleverly saw how to exploit the Guajiro laws to earn a lot of money. The Guajiro customary law was never intended to apply to export.

The monks were the chief opponents of the slave-traffic. They received a special grant from the government of Colombia to enable them to purchase the freedom of slave children. The white men made no distinction between slave

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and slave-worker, whichever they bought, they treated alike. In times of famine, so-called recruiting-agents, usually half-breeds, appeared on the scene and bought up workers for the haciendas. Even those Creoles who were not directly engaged in this shameful traffic considered slavery a phenomenon about which there was nothing to be done. After all it was an ancient institution. Slave-workers with Creoles never became free, unless they could manage to escape, for the Creoles did not respect the Guajiro law according to which a slave-worker's servitude ceases when he has paid his debt. Those white people, mestizos or mulattos who had bought slave-workers saw to it that they never got away once they had put their clan mark to a contract, the purport of which they did not understand.

The central chain of hills, Sierra de Jarará, and Maicao in the western low country, were usually accounted the centre of this slave traffic. If a poor man stole a bullock or a goat to feed himself and his family, he was often punished by being sold as a slave-worker—having nothing with which to pay the owner compensation.

The monks are needed there all right. They calculated that during the five years they had been working there, some three thousand slaves had been sold. In the old days the Guajiro also had negro slaves, as is apparent from Antonio Julian's description of the country written at the end of the eighteenth century. According to him, the Indians used to obtain firearms, spirits, wine and slaves in Rio Hacha, in exchange for their pearls. The pearl fishery was entirely in the Indians' hands. Elsewhere, negro slaves were bartered for pearls from boats lying off the coast. Antonio Julian expressed concern at the fact that with the addition of negroes and negresses not only would the Indians increase in numbers, but also that they would acquire an additional population of mulattos, mestizos and zambos, who would make common cause with them and make them 'even more terrible, insolent and difficult to conquer'.

When he visited the peninsula he was met by a chief who was attended by two negro slaves, splendidly got up, like lackeys, and that obviously impressed him greatly.

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The eldest monk at the station, Father Crispin, had a lot to tell us of the slave trade and of his travels on the peninsula.

The monks and nuns live in a state of constant nervous tension. That saps their strength, as does the constant anxiety about supplies, the heat and the monotonous diet: goat's meat, maize and dried fish.

'You age quickly here,' said Father Salvador, who was himself proof of that.

We attended mass in the primitive little church there. Father Salvador preached with true Spanish eloquence. He was said to have been an officer in a crack regiment, and sometimes when he gave orders to the Indian boys, you could see that that was so. There, in the dark little mud church, he preached a sermon that only a few understood, but a crowd of Indian children knelt and listened and some half-naked grown-ups watched inquisitively from the door, as did three heretics from the distant north.

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until they reached marriageable age. Even when they were little they wore belts of seed pearls which were added to with the years, and other strings of beads were put round their shoulders and across their chests. A girl of eight or ten might carry fifteen or twenty pounds weight of beads and pearls. The string round the waist was made of black beads, but those on the upper part of the body had to be of different colours.

The rich used gold and coral. Necklaces of gold beads were traditional, but every other bead had to be black and be either a seed-pearl or of glass. Poor girls used plaits of cotton threads on their torsos instead of strings of beads. All who could, wore sandals with pomporns to protect their feet against the thorns on the ground.

Women slaves and slave-workers were often not given protective tunics by their masters and therefore went about perpetually half-naked. Being unable to protect themselves from the sun, they become darker skinned than the others.

The women's dress was thus colourless—unless they had bought some coloured cloth from a white trader. To make up for this, they painted their faces with patterns, mostly using the violet dye of a fruit called *genipa*. The men painted themselves too, but restricted this to a few lines. Only the women took real pains about painting themselves. It was mainly their faces they painted, but on occasion their arms and legs could also be covered with patterns. When on a journey, the women painted their noses and cheeks all over with black or red paint. This was not done for the sake of appearance, but to protect themselves against sunburn. We tried the method ourselves and found it excellent. If one did not follow the Indians' example there, one easily got badly burned. The Indians regard this protective effect as supernatural—all paint is magical and the pattern has secret significance. The women showed my wife red and brown powders that they had and advised her to try them.

All at once the women were in a hurry. They had remembered that the men were due and hastened to the fires and their pots. We roamed around and came across a small hut, entirely closed, standing just behind the big houses.

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idea being that to speak the name renews the grief of the dead person's relatives. An old man of the Uriana clan, who called himself Juan, died. Some time later some of his relatives were at an entertainment, at which too was a woman of the Jusuá clan with her little son. A Creole asked this woman what her little boy was called and without thinking, she replied: 'Juan'. The dead man's relatives then claimed damages because she had mentioned the dead man's name, and she had to pay them a bullock, even though it was a Spanish name. It was the reminder of their grief that had to be compensated. It is also an offence to tread on an Indian's grave.

It is more expensive to strike a person than to insult him. One should not answer an insult with a blow, but a well-to-do Indian will not infrequently do so and gladly pay the damages. If an Indian strikes another without hurting him, he must pay nonetheless, because he has treated the other as a slave—it being only one's own slaves that one has the right to strike. If anyone tears a tunic, he must not only replace it, but pay for the shame the other felt at going about in rags.

A thief, if caught, must repay several times the value of what he has stolen. Not infrequently he must pay with his life, especially if the person he has robbed is a powerful personage, as he usually is, and the thief belongs to a weak clan that cannot help his family to exact blood-money.

A thief can be forced to pay by working for his victim. He becomes a debtor-slave. Murder, manslaughter and being the cause of another's death are the most serious crimes. They do not have these actual categories. The penalty for manslaughter is very heavy; if agreement cannot be reached on it, it can sometimes lead to war, a war in which the enemy must either be exterminated or enslaved.

It is on such occasions that a parade is held, at which you can see the groups of warriors drawn up facing each other, while a chief presides.

The chief is a mighty person and will have been chosen for his excellent qualities, yet he is not a judge, but rather advocate and mediator. His role is to conciliate. He will

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778 Christian now and intended to have done with such things,
832 and the Father had said that it was better to turn to a saint. And, of course, I was asked to say nothing about the transaction—that was always done in such cases.

I, of course, was keen to do business.

[784] 'But remember now not to eat roast meat or maize, nothing that has been in direct contact with fire. Otherwise you may fare badly.'

One has to observe certain rules of diet and behaviour when using a cóntra, but not so long as it lies idle.

The little pouch with the love specific thus passed into my possession, and I gave it our photographer to keep in the pocket of his camera case, as I had done with other small objects.

After we returned to the mission I told Francisco of my acquisition. He did not seem at all surprised, so evidently he and the young Indian had been in touch before the offer was made. I also told Francisco that Gladtvet was looking after the talisman, and he nodded understandingly. Gladtvet had no wife with him and no doubt would like to captivate a nice young girl, if one came his way.

574 Our host, whom Francisco told me would one day be a
778 chief, asked us to stay the night. He was of course prepared
832 to place a slave at the disposal of the solitary white man as hospitality required, but, he added, the prettiest girl in the
[567] house was a debtor-slave, whom he could not order, so the white man would have to charm her, if he wished to have her. It would be a good opportunity to try the talisman I had just acquired. Francisco said afterwards that it would not have been a reliable test of the talisman's efficacy, since undoubtedly the girl would have been very easily conquered by a large silver coin. Altogether, he considered, it would have been more practical for me to have bought a slave for Gladtvet than that expensive love charm, since, as he pointed out, slaves were cheap now, at the height of the dry season, owing to the shortage of food.

It was no use trying to explain to Francisco that this magic talisman, like all the other things I had bought from the Indians, was to go into a museum. He would merely

622 Chiefs are polygynous and have many daughters, for
595 whom very high bride prices are paid—sometimes thousands of animals,
583 worth $5,000 to $10,000. Such rich chiefs take great pride in their
556 daughters, dressing them in fine silken robes and necklaces of gold and pearls and providing them with personal servants.

567 There is a class of slaves who are beneath the chiefs' retainers in the social hierarchy. It consists of people born into this status and of captives.

PROPERTY

422 All cattle, though individually owned, belong in theory to the local group as a whole and are worked for the common benefit of all. For example, the cattle paid as a bride price when a girl marries within her own sib go to a new owner, but the milk, butter, cheese, and hides from them continue to be shared by everyone in the sib. When a woman receives cattle as a bride price for her daughter any new stock born to them belongs to the daughter's husband and his sons, and when the animals are rounded up for the annual branding each son is allowed to brand a certain number of them.

ETIQUETTE

576 The *Goajiro* are in general unfriendly to strangers but have a well-
577 established code of hospitality. Strangers calling at a house must wait until invited in. Inside a house a bowl of chicha or rum (coffee when available) is the first gift offered the visitor, who is thereafter given a hammock and treated as a member of the family. A special feast may
[545] be arranged if there are many guests. A guest of high rank is feasted, and some of the young girls of the house may be placed at his disposal.

LAW AND CRIME

627 The chiefs have little power outside their own local group, where they settle minor disputes. The solution of many disputes and transgressions of custom are left to the parties concerned. The laws of group respon-
628 sibility and group retaliation lead to frequent intertribal feuds. A person
614 without a strong sib to protect him is helpless, for others may use any act which may conceivably be interpreted as harmful as pretext for demanding indemnity. For example, a person injured while intoxicated may demand payment from the person who sold him the rum, or a person injured by a borrowed animal may demand payment from the owner of the animal; a thief who hurts himself when trespassing on the property of his intended victim will demand compensation of him; and anyone aiding a sick or wounded person who subsequently dies incurs a liability.

672 If a person injures himself he must make an expiatory gift to the members of his own sib and a lesser gift to his father's relatives. If a child dies when under the care of one parent, this parent must reimburse